20c DECEMBER 17, 1951

New Republic

STEEL: A Myth Exposed

Fair wages for steelworkers need not bring inflation

Churchill's Modest Plans

The Conservative Government gets under way

NOTABLE BOOKS of 1951

A Christmas List

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Letters

Disarmament Plan

● Your chart ("The Measure of Difference," *NR*, Dec. 3) concerning the state of the problem of control of atomic energy is, in my opinion, a valuable attempt in the field of public information in this all-important matter. According to my conviction it seems obvious that definitive and equitable agreement could be reached if both parties concerned honestly desire it.

Princeton, N. J. ALBERT EINSTEIN

The 1952 Campaign

● Your November 26 issue certainly was a masterpiece.

The letter by Alvin Johnson found me in complete agreement. I deplore the five percenters, mink coats, etc., of the Truman Administration. However . . . if when the cards are down we find Taft in one circle and Truman in the other there will be no question where my support will be. If necessary we can stand another four years of deep freezes and the like. But I strongly doubt we could stand even two years of foreign policy by Taft. Eisenhower would solve both these issues. He would continue and strengthen the present foreign policy abroad and at home he would give us a strong moral administration. Being a young liberal, I doubt if Eisenhower and I would see eye to eye on many domestic issues. However . . . I repeat, foreign policy will be the issue in '52 on which my support will be decided. I hope many more Americans will agree.

Then there was that wonderful article by Richard L. Strout, "*Collier's* War of the Future." Not only interesting but highly humorous too, it served as a timely warning against policies *Collier's* either forgot or intentionally omitted. Mr. Strout's "Events," rather than *Collier's*, seem to me the ones we had better guard against in view of current developments.

These two articles, along with the excellent editorial, T.R.B. (which I always read before so much as looking at the rest of the magazine), and Harold Ickes' refreshing satire on Mr. Krock made this issue, to my way of thinking, exceptional.

Chicago, Ill. DARYL D. GRIFFIN

● In your issue of November 26 you asked your readers to comment on issues and candidates. Well, I should like to see Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers, A. Philip Randolph of the Pullman Porters or Mark Starr of the ILGWU as the Presidential candidate of a new non-Communist labor party. If not that, at least on the Socialist Party ticket.

The issues?—things as they are: democratic planning, decent social legislation and a real labor-workingman point of view from the government as opposed to the present demo-publican big-business orientation with ineffective government regulation, militarism, and legal and illegal racketeering. I FAVOR LABOR.

Hartford, Conn. STANLEY R. BORENSTEIN

The Forrestal Diaries

● After several years of keen interest in your magazine, I regret that my first letter to you is in strong protest against the book review published in Oct. 15, 1951, issue on *The Forrestal Diaries* by James R. Newman. Because of a personal dislike for the man and the subject, he has written a review certainly not up to the usual standards of your magazine. Since yours is a magazine of small circulation, I assume your readers, like myself, cannot consider a man evil or malicious merely because his is a different opinion as to the means to the same end. Must you hit below the belt when there are such wide-open fair opportunities?

For instance, since when is the Secretary of the Navy in a time of war to be condemned for not being profound on labor questions or domestic problems, social or economic? It was stated that Forrestal was "unhinged" by the mention of Harold Laski's name. That was a deliberate misinterpretation of the Diaries. Mr. Newman arbitrarily states that Forrestal had no confidence in popular judgment or opinion—perhaps not, but in the Diaries he merely records his and others' opinions as to whether or not a given subject would be politically expedient or could be passed in Congress. This has been deplored by some people, but of what use are good ideas *out* of office? I cannot see that it is at all related to Mr. Newman's statement.

The appalling number of entries dealing with such (to Mr. Newman) dead subjects as the naval budget, appropriations, preparedness and UMT and unification are quite important in giving a political picture of our government during the crucial years leading to our present dilemmas. They should also be quite important to you, I would imagine, in establishing a conception of conscientious, hard-working men in our government as opposed to current newspaper headlines. I am glad the book was published now—President Truman could almost campaign on it alone.

I think the death of President Roosevelt was enough to pay for the lack of coordination and teamwork which Mr. Newman condemns Forrestal for advocating, but which has since been accomplished somewhat and is apparently a great help to President Truman and to efficiency.

Mr. Newman spends much time on Forrestal's errors and supposed political deviations but none on how often he was right and what a tremendous job he did. Perhaps hatred for this man derives from the period when you were advocating appeasement of Russia and he was in opposition because he knew more about their tactics than we did. Perhaps Korea would not have happened if his uninteresting preparedness had been accomplished. . . .

Garrett, Pa. MRS. JOHN M. FOGLE

● So far as I can see, there is only one factual point in Mrs. Fogle's letter. She says that my reference to the unfortunate impact on Forrestal of the name of

(*Continued on page 4*)

Bandwagon

Lead, Kindly Fullback

"We like to call them leadership scholarships," Dr. Cotterman [dean of the University of Maryland] said. "But of course, the boys all refer to them as athletic scholarships." – *From the Washington* Evening Star.

Perfidious Moslems

Anglo-Iranian last year made so much money that, in spite of the Iranian affair, it will distribute 30 percent in dividends. Possibly the high profits had something to do with Iranian dissatisfaction over the company's royalty payments to Iran. – *From the New York* World-Telegram and Sun.

Steer-Struck

Buddy Baer is taking drama lessons he doesn't need. His fight with the bull in *Quo Vadis* packs a world of drama, and is the high spot of the picture. – *From Sheilah Graham's syndicated Hollywood column.*

Lady Bountiful

[The late Mrs. Evelyn Walsh McLean] owned the first silver-blue mink coat in Washington. . . . She used to let the boys at Walter Reed Hospital, where for many years during the war she did a stint in the amputee wards two nights a week, feel—and smell—that "fabulous first" just as she let them feel and admire the one and only Hope Diamond. – *From Evelyn Peyton Gordon's society column in the Washington* Daily News.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WHILE TRUMAN was down in Key West getting a tan in a fancy beach costume, Democratic National Committee Chairman Frank McKinney was getting a slow burn up here in Washington. McKinney conceives of himself as chairman of all the party, not just Truman's Man Friday, and he is irked. How can he organize a Presidential election campaign if he doesn't know whether Truman will run? He doesn't know. He feels the President is a loyal enough party man, however, to make his decision known, say, by March. It is a date to remember. The Eisenhower announcement should come in January or February (he'll consent to a draft); the Truman tip to friends should come within a month thereafter.

McKinney's second and bigger irk is about Washington scandals. They should trouble any Democrat. All the gloomy predictions made for a year are coming true too late for Truman to overcome them satisfactorily. The questions go right up to the Supreme Court: Why did former Attorney General Tom Clark, now on the Court, make playboy T. Lamar Caudle head of the tax-enforcement division, when Caudle confessedly knew nothing about such cases? What McKinney wants is something drastic and spectacular. The best proposal yet has come from Francis Biddle, Roosevelt's Attorney General, who was dropped by Truman to make way for Clark. As Chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, Biddle urges a two-man team of special prosecutors, like the Atlee Pomerene—Owen D. Roberts' team named by Coolidge to investigate the Teapot Dome. It is our guess that Truman's return to Washington was to do something dramatic just because continuing to do nothing is suicidal.

Another side of this story is the damage done to government morale. What McCarthyism unfairly did to the State Department, "Teitelbaumism" is doing in another way to the Treasury and Justice Departments.

Abraham Teitelbaum, Al Capone's Chicago attorney——wearing what he would describe as an electric blue suit—told the King Subcommittee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau of an almost unbelieveable effort to shake him down for "$500,000." Two fancy characters named Nathan and Naster had told him (he charged) that they could get his tax case settled without prosecution. They claimed they were agents (witness charged) for a "clique" of five high Justice-Internal Revenue Bureau officials—whom he named—looking over the country for "soft touches." The witness's allegation was supported at first only by a gorgeous brunette variously referred to as "Mrs. Shyrl Menkin" and Mrs. Teitelbaum."

The story at first seemed ridiculous; it was hearsay evidence as it touched the five government officials; it was preposterous! Reporters watched the unfolding drama, fascinated. Nathan was put on the stand. He looked like Hollywood's idea of a gangster: a swarthy 3,000 year-old Assyrian-type face you can see on a frieze running round any Egyptian obelisk. He energetically denied the story. He used double negatives gracefully, once or twice achieved a triple negative and always seemed reaching for a quadruple negative as in, "I never asked Mr. Caudle for no help about no tax case at no time."

The story ramified, darkened, revealed a Washington half-world peopled by flashy figures peddling influence, men who customarily rented the presidential suite of the Mayflower Hotel, called poorly paid government workers "Charlie," bought airplanes, made millions out of government excess property, had income-tax trouble, gave generously to the party and summoned Congress-

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men to their aid. They had odd inhibitions. Larry Knohl, for example, ex-auctioneer and Long Island businessman who at one time mysteriously bought an airplane from a friend of Caudle's (netting Caudle a $5,000 commission), never liked to use the word "jailed." Two of the loud-voiced Mr. Knohl's friends were presently "incarcerated," as he delicately put it, for little income-tax troubles with the government. He too was having a little income-tax trouble. He himself had once been "incarcerated," for embezzlement. He normally hired the big suite in the Mayflower when he hit Washington.

In the midst of all this, ailing Charles Oliphant, chief counsel of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, resigned. His name had been on the Teitelbaum "hearsay" list. Innocent men don't usually resign under fire. But guilty men rarely do what Oliphant did—give a personal financial report and simultaneously publish all past income-tax returns of their official life. Oliphant listed a $1,300 loan owed to "H. Grunewald." That set off a new view-halloo. Grunewald is a familiar mystery figure to the press. Self-styled "investigator" and former FBI man, he was charged last year with a part in tapping telephone wires in the investigation of industrial Howard Hughes by Sen. Owen Brewster (R, Me.). The Brewster-Grunewald connection was never cleared up. Now it appeared that Grunewald had had an interest in the Teitelbaum tax case, too—had had meetings with Oliphant about it—meetings for which he appeared to want no publicity. The King Subcommittee listed new, more spectacular hearings to come. It was like the fast-moving episodes of a radio serial. It came when the wheels of Washington's huge publicity machine were otherwise idle. Down in Key West Truman bathed. Suddenly he decided to return—a week early. Evidence accumulated that his friends had let him down. It seemed impossible that an explosion could be long delayed. Other events—truce talks in Korea, Churchill's coming, inflation—were coming to a head. The big 1952 election issue seemed at hand.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(*Continued from page 2*)

Harold Laski was a "deliberate misinterpretation of the Diaries." I used the word "unhinged," Millis says "obsessed," You may take your choice of consulting psychiatrists.

The original Diaries, one must assume, contained several references to Laski; Millis in a footnote implies as much. Apparently most of them were too silly or scandalous to print; the published version gives, I believe, only two entries about Laski, both of which are mild.

I said nothing about Forrestal's "political deviations" or about his being "evil or malicious." I did not "condemn" him for advocating "co-ordination and teamwork." I suggested that he wrote and thought in clichés—which he did, as the Diaries show. I doubt that Forrestal did a "tremendous job," though I do not doubt (and said so plainly) that he was conscientious and worked very hard. There is evidence from excellent sources that Forrestal obfuscated the issue and blocked action on unification, and that it would never have been achieved without direct intervention by President Truman.

Washington, D. C. JAMES R. NEWMAN

Britain and the US

● In calling upon Prime Minister Churchill to revive the attempt to establish atomic-weapon control, the *New Republic* rightly recognizes that "any new plan for control of atomic weapons must be coupled with proposals for reduction of conventional armaments." However, it is important also to recognize the qualitative change in the control problem which results from thus coupling conventional with atomic armaments.

If armaments generally are to be cut back, it becomes vitally important for each bloc of powers to know that the other is not gaining significant advantage by reason of the uneven impact of the reductions. Yet, since the blocs place primary reliance on different kinds of weapons, the equivalence of arms cuts will be extremely hard to gauge. What, for example, is the proper ratio of infantry divisions to strategic bombing wings?

In this situation, the inspection problem, which loomed so large in the atomic-control discussions, will shrink in relative importance. It was difficult to reconcile the need for adequate inspection of atomic activities with the maintenance of secrecy for the rest of the military establishment. If, however, the camel of general arms reduction is to be swallowed, with the general inspection it would of course require, the special problems of atomic inspection are reduced to gnat-like proportions.

So thorny are the questions of arms reduction, given the current tensions between West and East, that Churchill would be wise to make a less ambitious first move. Instead of trying for immediate arms reductions, he might seek to bring the present armaments race to a halt by a standstill agreement, applicable to atomic and conventional armaments alike, allowing the maintenance but not the enlargement of existing forces. This would be far easier to design, to negotiate and to police than any plan for armaments reduction. After a few years of living under an internationally-policed standstill agreement, the tensions that have been building up might relax to a point where substantial arms reductions would become politically feasible. With total disarmament the ultimate goal, stage one would end, and stage two, begin.

The times seem peculiarly propitious for a standstill agreement. It is not simply that both sides are beginning to stagger under the armaments load. The significant factor in the present situation is that the present state of military power appears to give neither side a clear preponderance over the other. If this is so, then neither side need fear that the standstill had left it dangerously exposed to attack. Two years ago we could scarcely have risked a standstill. Two years hence, Russia might be unwilling to call a halt until its atomic arms and defenses could be brought into better balance with our own. Today, if ever, both blocs could safely stop the race, but only a statesman of Churchill's dimensions would have the prestige, the skill and the daring to persuade the rival nations to apply the brakes.

Cambridge, Mass. DAVID F. CAVERS

The Trenton Two

● The *New Republic* acknowledges additional contributions from the following persons for the Trenton Two:

Mrs. C. W. Cusic, Topeka, Kans.; Mrs. E. M. Phillips, Woodstock, Ill.; Grace H. Kent, Waterbury, Vt.; R. L. Mylroie, Pullman, Wash.; Joyce Barnett, Chicago, Ill.; Louis C. Zucker, Salt Lake City, Utah; Anonymous, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Anne C. Schwartz, Milwaukee, Wis.; Isaac Lerner, Jenkintown, Pa.; Leonard J. Seltzer, Los Angeles, Calif.; Lesley H. Lucas, Detroit, Mich.

Flood Relief

● I enclose a check for $10 to be sent to Thomas Hart Benton for flood relief "on the Kaw."

La Canada, Calif. ETHEL L. DEWEY

[The *New Republic* will gladly forward all contributions to Mr. Benton to be used by appropriate flood-relief agencies. — THE EDITORS]

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POLITICAL DOLLARS AND CORRUPTION

WHEN THEODORE ROOSEVELT proposed to Congress in 1907 that at least part of the expense of political campaigns be publicly financed, the problem of wealth exercising too much influence on elections was already serious. Since then, campaign methods have been revolutionized by radio and television. The cost of running for office has multiplied four or five times during the last 25 years, and the growing use of television guarantees another violent inflation in political expenses next year.

To run for the Senate or stand as a statewide candidate in major states like Ohio, Pennsylvania, New York, Illinois or California today—and make even minimum use of radio and television—a candidate must have access to $1-2 million at the least. To run the 1952 national campaigns in modern style, using radio and TV extensively, the Republican and Democratic National Chairmen will probably have to spend double the $2.7 million and the $2.1 million which the Republican and Democratic National Committees respectively reported as their official expenditures in 1948. In fact, preliminary budgets being made up by the Democratic National Committee list estimated costs of "adequate" radio and TV programs alone at between $1.5 million and $2 million.

The high cost of reaching the voters has become a "serious threat to men of limited means" who run for office and to the integrity of the parties they represent. Who is to pay the enormous costs? "How," as Sen. William Benton (D, Conn.) has asked, "can party leaders take care of legitimate party expenditures without getting eye-brow deep in the old corrupting game of favors and protection?"

Part of the answer, we believe, is to be found in a system of indirect public aid in meeting necessary expenses. Since Theodore Roosevelt first urged that Congress provide an appropriation "for the proper and legitimate expenses of each of the great national parties," others have proposed that all private contributions be prohibited. Today few would argue that direct public financing of political campaigns is the answer, but there is a growing awareness of urgent need for ways to relieve the burden of the high-cost items in the party budgets.

Unless income is to be a major determining factor in his election or defeat, every responsible candidate for federal office should have access to sufficient radio and television time in which to state his case to the public free of charge. The air waves belong to the public, and there is no reason why Congress should not require the 4,700 present holders of radio and TV licenses and those who are licensed in the future to provide free use of their facilities for certain periods at election time by political candidates on an equal basis. For this arrangement to have real meaning, some formula would have to be worked out whereby a station owner or network would be required to make available, in addition to the minimum free allowance, a further amount of free time for every hour of paid political broadcasts or telecasts carried over his station, this to be divided equally among the candidates.

There is no reason in equity why such a condition should not be imposed on the radio and television industries. They are unique in that their income is derived from rights bestowed on them by the federal government absolutely free. "The grand total revenue of the broadcasting industry passed the half-billion mark for the first time in 1950," according to the Federal Communications Commission. Radio revenues were the highest on record, and this year it is estimated that close to 100 percent of all television stations will report profitable operation. TV advertising revenue is expected to reach the $1 billion mark by 1955; the industry cannot plead infant status and the right to special care much longer.

Senator Benton has suggested granting a limited use of the franking privilege to all candidates for federal office. At present, Senate and House incumbents can make certain uses of their Congressional frank for mailings to constituents in campaigns. Their opponents should have the same subsidy advantage to enable them to tell their story by mail.

The cost of running for office is now far beyond the means of both the candidates and the parties. Full review and stringent revision of the entire Corrupt Practices Act is obviously in order. Meanwhile, if the 1952 election is not to be run under circumstances conducive to corruption of the candidates and the parties by those with easy money to offer, immediate relief must be provided through indirect methods within the government's power—through its power to control the use of the air waves and the public mails.

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THE WEEK

KEFAUVER IN SEATTLE

If Sen. Estes Kefauver (D, Tenn.) is an active candidate for the Democratic nomination, and he has dropped strong hints that he is, it is not that party's conservative wing that is being wooed to support him. His border-state background which makes him palatable to at least the moderate Southerners would seem to call for a middle-of-the-road approach, but it is the Democrats' liberal audience Kefauver seems most eager to attract. The most forceful indication of this is the uncompromising swing he took at Gen. Douglas MacArthur in a Seattle speech where he referred to MacArthur as a "defeatist and Monday morning quarterback." This is strong language for a Presidential aspirant to use about a man who has a considerable following in both parties.

Speaking three weeks after the General aroused Seattle Democrats to fury by using the forum of the city's bipartisan centennial celebration for a vicious attack on the Administration, Kefauver attacked MacArthur's arrogant presumptions here and abroad. He compared him unfavorably with General Bradley, "who wears his mantle with humility and . . . without political rancor or vindictiveness." And he also strongly chided him for never once mentioning the United Nations, which he ascribed to "either lack of understanding of the role of the United Nations or a pathetic display of vanity." It is not "summer soldiers" that we need at a time like this, his audience was told, "nor emotional jingoists."

Kefauver is probably as convinced and thoroughgoing an internationalist as is to be found among our elected officials. He has taken an extraordinarily active role in molding Clarence Streit's ideas for Atlantic Union among the democracies into a politically realizable program. In Seattle, he showed that he follows his ideas to their logical conclusions without fear of what the jingoists will make of his words. "This is not a MacArthur war," he declared. "This is not the United States' war. This is free men everywhere saying to Joseph Stalin, 'Thou shalt not trespass again'." A little rhetorical perhaps, but still a strong way of saying something that is not being much stressed by other Presidential aspirants.

FEPC FOR DEFENSE

The well-beaten issue of fair-employment practices climbed back into the news again as President Truman signed an order creating a top-level committee to police holders of government contracts and encourage them to comply with regulations on discrimination in employment practices.

This is expected to be the ultimate power of the new order, which does not require Congressional approval, establishing a Committee on Government Contract Compliances with five members representing key mobilization departments and agencies and six additional members to be appointed by the President. The Committee's job will be to investigate and study employment practices of firms holding government contracts and report any bias found to the heads of the particular contracting agency. If this does not remove discrimination, the findings will be referred to Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson and then to the President. Technically, the President has the right to cancel contracts and withhold payments, but with so high a priority being placed on defense production such action is anticipated in few, if any, cases.

The new order encompasses a far more restricted area than the FEPC directive of President Roosevelt in World War II, but considering the fact that this is not war time the Truman order has as many "teeth" as legally permissible. The former FEPC order, which was financially starved to death by Congress in 1946, applied not only to firms holding government contracts but also to all other businesses and groups which contributed to the war effort.

Reaction to the new order has been immediate and strong, along anticipated lines. Southern Democrats denounced the President and his directive, this time led by Sen. J. William Fulbright (D, Ark.), who said that it wasn't "a proper practice" and asked: "What is the President trying to do, divert the public's attention from Caudle?" Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.) labeled it "another move to play politics in the next election."

Clarence Mitchell, director of the Washington Bureau of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was "disappointed in the weakness and lack of enforcement power" but added that "we must work to make the most of it and at the same time seek ways of strengthening it." Sen. Hubert Humhrey (D, Minn.), a leading champion of civil rights, called it "a step in the right direction" and promised to carry the fight for an FEPC with enforcement powers to the Senate floor early next year.

"This order may not cause too much trouble," was one of Senator Fulbright's observations. "But if they are just trying to build up a furore for the next election and the order is enforced in a political way, it may interfere with defense production."

Senator Fulbright did not define how the order could be "enforced in a political way."

THE AMA PAYS OFF

Candidate Robert A. Taft is rapidly being paid off for his recent opposition to the aid-to-medical-education bill, which he had formerly sponsored. First, the American Medical Association formed a Taft-for-President committee and called on doctors throughout the country to send in $10 donations. Then the AMA released a blast against Gov. Earl Warren of California, the only announced GOP candidate opposing Taft. In a letter to 202 members of its

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policy-making House of Delegates, the AMA warned them that Warren is in "the Truman-Ewing camp" on the issue of national health insurance.

The AMA objected to two recent statements by Warren in which he said:

> We must make it possible for every one of our people to protect himself and his family from the economic disaster of back-breaking hospital and medical bills. . . . The well-to-do can pay for good medical care. The indigent receive it from public agencies. But the self-reliant workman who contributes so much to the building of our country . . . cannot bear the financial catastrophe of serious illness.

Warren, who believes that states should tackle the problem rather than the federal government, denied that his proposal was "socialistic." Nevertheless, the AMA used the opportunity to declare that "no one should be misled" by Warren's attitude: "In common with President Truman and the Federal Security Administrator, Oscar Ewing, Warren repudiates the term 'socialized medicine' while warmly embracing the substance."

The AMA's propaganda fund, being used for Taft's benefit these days, is now huge. During the first six months of this year, the AMA invested $288,234 in lobby activities, as reported under the Lobby Registration Act. During election year, 1952, this sum will unquestionably be multiplied three-fold.

NEW ANTI-COMMUNIST LAW

Massachusetts appears to be the first state to pass legislation outlawing the Communist Party by name. A law recently adopted by the state legislature says that the Communist Party is a subversive, unlawful organization; anyone who remains a member, knowing that it is subversive, can be punished with a maximum of three years in jail and a fine of $1,000. After being found guilty, no one can hold public office or be a teacher, unless, after a lapse of five years, he is certified by a court to be loyal. The Communist Party, as such, is barred from the ballot in an election, though candidates having its approval can run under other designations. It is a criminal offense to permit Communists to meet on your premises or to give money to them.

All these restrictions apply also to any other organization of three or more persons which "advocates the violent or unlawful overthrow" of the state or federal government; it is the duty of the state attorney general to institute proceedings against any group he suspects of subversion; if he wins, it is dissolved and its assets turned over to the state.

This is not the law under which Prof. Dirk J. Struik of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Harry E. Winner, a Malden businessman, and others have been indicted. This action was taken under an "anti-anarchy" statute originally passed in 1919 which, it is believed, has never before been invoked. In the anti-Red hysteria following World War I, criminal-syndicalism laws were passed in many states; most of them have been repealed or have become a dead letter.

BLOOD AND HISTRIONICS

What between coups d'état and the first serious military clashes, the Middle East is building itself up into an unprecedented state of political hysteria. The coming to the foreground of the military in Syria and Egypt has served to heighten the tension. Seeking desperately to rally the masses, the leaders of those countries are copying almost verbatim the histrionics used with such success in Germany and Italy in past decades. "Colonel Al-Shishakli and the brave Syrian army," said the Damascus radio after the military had overturned that country's latest government, "wanted to liberate the dear country once and for all of those who defiled its consecrated ideals. . . . They believe in the future as they believe in God and the fatherland." But the script-writers did not have their symbols straight. A few hours before the same station had said that the Colonel was "safeguarding the independence of the motherland."

The specific origin of the Egyptian clashes in Suez is told differently by each side. The tens of casualties are small, in view of the fear campaigns labeling the British as wanting "to swim in the blood of the unarmed civilians," with which government spokesmen have aroused the people. At the same time the government's power is being challenged by the "liberation battalions" of the Moslem Brotherhood, an unofficial terror organization which the government encouraged but now finds getting out of hand. Members of the government party, the Wafdists, have engaged in several clashes with Moslem Brotherhood crowds; and Cairo last week was splattered with leaflets threatening death to Interior Minister Fuad Siraj Al-Din Pasha if he continued to interfere in the affairs of the "battalions." Thus, even if it should want now to adopt a more moderate tone, the government's hand is forced by the terrorists.

The situation in Iran is not much better. Premier Mossadegh's government can survive on either a show of accomplishment or on a continuing wave of nationalist fervor. Mossadegh has received no American aid or oil payments, so he must attempt to prolong the emotion-letting. His followers have now clashed decisively with the Communists, who will become more and more tempted to take over the rickety state structures. At the same time the mobs have smashed the offices of opposition newspapers. The ousting from Teheran of New York *Times* correspondent Michael Clark, who had described these happenings in less than guarded terms, indicates something of Mossadegh's frame of mind. To him the cause of liberation is something to be judged apart from what happens in the streets. Outsiders are either for this cause or against it. The *Times* had been extremely hostile all along, and its man was therefore given the same treatment as the British, who had been expelled some time ago.

The concluding articles in the *New Republic's* series on "The Tax Thieves of 1951" will appear next week. It will report on operations in the central Internal Revenue office and will propose reforms by which the tax-collection machinery can be restored to proper running order.

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"REARMAMENT IS NOT THE WHOLE SHOW"

Aneurin Bevan was good at mathematics, Winston Churchill has now announced, even though his political economics are deficient. Both Britain and France have now said that they cannot carry out their rearmament commitments on the meager economic aid being given them through the Mutual Assistance Program.

The statements by Churchill and Bidault have finally convinced Washington that not only the Mutual Assistance Program, but our entire foreign economic policy, needs immediate overhauling. Speaking before the National Planning Association on December 3, ECA's Administrator Richard M. Bissell Jr. said publicly what he and his colleagues have been telling the State and Defense Departments for months. The following are excerpts from that speech.

There is only one reason for giving aid from one country to another, and that is that the recipient country cannot, or will not, do the things it needs to do and pay for them or do them solely from its own resources.

A tank is made of steel and costs money. If the French, the British, the Italians, the Dutch could manufacture their own, or if they could send their own procurement officers to the United States and place contracts throughout this country with whatever firms they might select, we would have a few administrative problems, but we would have no foreign aid, whether called military or economic. . . .

The underlying reason for giving resources voted by the American Congress, taxed from the American taxpayer, and provided as a gift to the citizens of other countries, is that of mutual interest, and in this case purposes of major interest to the United States, require that the resources of our allies be supplemented with our own. I hope that in the next year we can gain a somewhat clearer comprehension of that fundamental fact and sweep away once and for all some of the confusion that surrounds the distinction between military and economic aid. . . .

In the case of military alliances in the past it has been customary for countries to make economic contributions to the cost of the alliance proportionate to their contributions of manpower. When that happens, generally speaking, each member government raises some troops, it pays them, it equips them, and it puts them in the field. It pays the bill that you can measure in men, and it pays another bill that you can measure in dollars or currency; and the two, I repeat, are roughly proportionate. . . .

I submit that the basic fact about the North Atlantic Treaty is that it is now agreed in principle by all its members that it makes sense for the European members of this alliance to make proportionately a larger contribution in manpower than they can make in economic resources, and for the United States to make proportionately a larger contribution in economic resources than it makes in men.

When the proposition is stated in this way I certainly hope there will be very few Americans to say that on the face of it it is wrong; because if it is wrong for us to transfer economic resources to our allies, if in short it is wrong for us to give proportionately more dollars than men, then it is so easy, I think, for our allies to turn that judgment around on us and say there is a very simple cure for all that. We should have not three and a half but perhaps seven million men under arms. Then we would be able to send 30 divisions to Europe. The Europeans could raise correspondingly fewer divisions and the need for any kind of economic or military aid, or merely shipping things to Europe—would be correspondingly lessened. . . . I profoundly believe that we will be making the greatest error of our postwar policy if we allow our objectives, either actual or implied, to be small and minor and limited in these next three years. I am convinced that our position in world opinion has retrogressed in the last 12 months alarmingly. I am personally convinced, from no elaborate studies—and I hope the evidence is against me, but I don't think it is—that we are more and more thought of outside the United States as a government interested only in rearmament, a government which has cast aside any pretensions of creativeness, of constructive long-range leadership in its international behavior. I contend that the widespread prevalence of this attitude toward the United States is a dangerous and even disastrous development.

I would argue, therefore, that this is not a moment for us to retreat on the front of ideas, to say we will be content with merely holding the line, that if nobody is economically much worse off in three years, we have accomplished all we want. Surely, without the objective costing vast outlays, now is the time to do what Eisenhower has done so notably and so vigorously, and that is to assert and to reassert our belief, for instance, in the unification of Europe, in its integration within a very much tighter North Atlantic institutional framework, in the achievement of a degree of unity of aim and of action within the North Atlantic community that is painfully absent today.

What I am pleading for is that our influence, such as it is, exerted through political foreign policy, exerted through our administration of military and economic aid, exerted through our support of international institutions, exerted in every theatre of action, should be focussed on preserving and even improving Western Europe's living standards. We must have a forthright set of objectives clearly stated that we can hold before our own people and others that will enable us to re-create some sense of forward motion, and to relegate rearmament to its proper place as a mere incident in our progress, and not the whole show. . . .

RICHARD M. BISSELL JR.

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Outside America

REARMAMENT OR REFORM

"The differences between Europe and the United States are so great and the sources of misunderstanding so numerous," writes Prof. H. Stuart Hughes of Harvard in a recent number of the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, "that whoever tries to explain them to each other is almost sure to win the gratitude of neither." Nevertheless, the professor, in an article titled "Transatlantic Misunderstanding: Realities and Abstractions," describes so clearly and courageously the present attitudes in Europe that he deserves the careful attention of the US public. Here are some excerpts:

In the present "national psychology" of the French, the dominant attitude is one of skepticism and acceptance of the best that can be had. . . . Of course, the French will fight. They have no other choice. They will fight with their customary dogged resignation. But they will not go out of their way to make the situation more difficult than it already is. Toward most problems of domestic politics they are apathetic. . . . And the current drift toward conservatism is being accepted without protest by the bulk of the population. . . .

It is not surprising that the French should adopt so cautious an attitude toward foreign affairs. While long ago cured of the illusions of "appeasement," they would prefer to settle for as small a war as possible. They are ready to perform their full duty toward the Western alliance, but they are not anxious to march off on any general crusade. . . . The French are accustomed to Communism from personal experience. . . . They accept it as a part of the contemporary scene, certain to maintain its existence in some places and in some form. Naturally, they will resist an armed incursion by the Soviet Union and its satellites. But they are appalled by the implications of the increasingly popular American thesis that Communism is a criminal conspiracy which can be purged without trace from the surface of the earth. . . .

It is the French, or European attitude, toward alliance policy that is clearly more realistic than the American. The American emphasis on military enthusiasm is misplaced. It demands more of the European allies than they can reasonably be expected to feel. . . . In judging Western European morale, the most important thing for Americans to realize is that the present rearmament drive is highly unpopular. It could scarcely be otherwise when the bulk of the working people either actively or passively oppose it. . . .

Americans need to understand that rearmament has rendered obsolete the formula on which the governments of France and Italy were able to operate during the years of economic progress under the Marshall Plan. No longer can they join to their defense of Western liberties the promise of economic betterment. . . . And the real economic effects of rearmament have only just begun to be felt.

Professor Hughes foresees for Italy and France the possibility of "a more or less veiled authoritarianism of the Right. In Italy, the Christian Democrats might themselves become sufficiently authoritarian to remain in power. . . . In France, de Gaulle stands ready to step forward as the savior of order. Should this come to pass in either or both countries, Americans would be obliged to re-define in less exacting terms the ideological basis of their European alliance."

Since the article was written, elections were held in France for the departmental councils which conduct local government. Here are the official results:

Party	*Seats*	*Gain or Loss*	*Votes*
Communist	78	—98	1,062,360
Socialist	278	—139	698,474
Various Leftist	51	—11	86,513
Pop. Republican	108	+20	308,980
Radicals (Right)	382	+ 8	526,341
Ind. (Right)	468	+142	563,963
Gaullists	150	+80	612,693

These figures fully confirm Professor Hughes's diagnosis. Forty percent of the 6.5 million registered voters did not bother to go to the polls. The largest popular vote still went to the Communists because, as Hughes points out, "organized labor and the organized poor of both France and Italy are still overwhelmingly Communist in allegiance." The second largest vote was Gaullist; and a vast majority of the councils went to the making of a coalition of the Right "that is simply incompatible with major social changes."

An event which recently took place in domestic Italian politics also bears out Hughes's views. Deputy Giuseppe Dossetti, leader of the moderately progressive wing of Alcide de Gasperi's Christian Democratic Party, was forced to resign as a member of the Directorate and of the National Council of the Party. Vice Premier Piccioni commented:

At this time, we should not concern ourselves with ideological matters. Now, as never before, we must be practical, basing our conduct on development of action against the persistent threat of Communism to the democratic life of the country.

It is generally accepted in Italy that there is a direct connection between the victory of the *Vespisti*, the reactionary wing of the Christian Democratic Party, and the talks which de Gasperi had in Washington (See OA, *NR*, Sept. 3, Sept. 17). On the assumption that only de Gasperi will go along, in a manner acceptable to Washington, toward Italian rearmament, the American Government —the Italians believe—has written off some $2,630 million given in grants and loans for basic land, industrial, social and economic reforms which were never carried out; and has also decided to let the Italians be "practical" about Communism—that is, to use force and coercion instead of impressing reforms upon them.

If this version is even approximately true, that is of course a re-definition "in less exacting terms" of the ideological basis of the American alliance with Europe. If it is true, as is being said in Europe, that the Americans have tacitly authorized a German-Spanish military deal by which the Ruhr is to be Franco's military arsenal, that too helps change the ideological basis. But if it is true, as one of the highest American officers at SHAPE says, that the "revitalization of the reserves" among the plain people of France and Italy is the basis of dependable rearmament, Americans had better notice the contradictions. In any event, the people of the United States had better face the fact which has been so clearly stated by Professor Hughes: rearmament *or* reform, no longer both in Europe.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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CHURCHILL'S MODEST PLANS

by Michael Curtis

THE FIRST Parliament of the first Conservative Government in Britain since the war is moving quietly and undramatically toward the traditional Christmas recess. On the face of things the change of government has made very little difference, and after the excitement of another closely fought election the British public is clearly inclined to take a rest from politics. It has received every encouragement from the government, which shows no signs yet of making any radical policy changes.

It is true that Churchill has declared his intention of "unscrambling" the socialized steel industry—but in view of Labour's decision to turn on the heat again directly as it regains power, private enterprise is naturally shy of jumping back into the broiling pan. Some sort of compromise between private and state ownership is now being worked out, and the Liberals are finding consolation for their shattering defeat at the polls in the knowledge that the Conservatives are compelled at almost every point to adopt Liberal solutions.

Socialists have vastly enjoyed the spectacle of Tory ministers standing up to proclaim the same uncomfortable doctrines of economy and restraint which were so lately attributed to the follies of Attlee's administration. They have proved, to their own satisfaction at least, that the Conservative election program—with its carefree promises—was a frame-up. Yet the glib Conservative retort, which insists that the Socialists left the country in such a mess that only Draconian methods could save the day, is adequate for the average middle-of-the-road voter—at least for the time being.

Churchill's long-term policy is now becoming clear: first and foremost, he is determined to reduce party warfare to a minimum. He is convinced that the country has had its fill of electioneering and wants nothing so much as sound, unspectacular government by a competent team of administrators. That is what Britain is getting today. It may well turn out that the close Conservative victory was a blessing in disguise. A large majority would have weakened Churchill's personal hold on his party and correspondingly strengthened the more reactionary elements. As it is, the Old Guard Tories on the back benches present a curious spectacle of mingled bewilderment and frustration. The battery of belted earls which Churchill has injected into his cabinet has deprived many a back bencher of his hopes of office. It is said that there were some agonizing moments as Churchill slowly filled the government posts. The team appears strongest on the foreign side. Anthony Eden, Selwyn Lloyd and Lord Reading are all men of first-class calibre. It is weakest at the economic level. R. A. Butler, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, lacks financial and business experience, though this may be more than compensated for by his undoubted integrity and high intellectual attainments. Nevertheless, he is unlikely to get a great deal of support from those of his colleagues who now occupy such key posts as the Minister of Supply, the President of the Board of Trade and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury. The biggest surprise of all was the omission of David Eccles who has long been regarded (even before *Time-Life* discovered him) as a sort of Tory one-man economic brain trust. Eventually Eccles was offered the post of Minister of Works where his duties are those of a combined head gardener and glorified caretaker of the government offices and royal parks. This may not be exactly Eccles' cup of tea, but since he is reputed to be somewhat over-ambitious it will probably serve as an admirable aperitif to stronger drink later on.

The only real row in the new Parliament developed over the Tories' refusal to allow an extra ration bonus for Christmas. This decision is attributed to Lord Woolton, the wartime Food Minister, later Conservative campaign leader and now "co-ordinator" of the two Food and Agriculture ministries. British rations today are at a pretty low ebb. The dollar shortage and the increasingly tight export situation in Australia and New Zealand have been making things steadily more difficult for the housewife. Then came the disastrous slump in the balance-of-payments situation and Butler's decision to make drastic cuts in food imports from Europe. The effect of these cuts has not yet reached the grocery stores, but before long, no doubt, many a British housewife will be sighing for the "good old days" of Sir Stafford Cripps.

The decision not to permit any Christmas ration bonus for the first time since rationing was introduced in 1940, had little immediate economic justification and for this very reason it has caused political feeling to run high. Lord Woolton and the Cabinet were, no doubt, determined to show the public (and perhaps the US Congress as well) that they meant business: "Look after the pennies and the pounds will look after themselves" should be a popular motto for a nation

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of shopkeepers, but after six years of the Welfare State it has a strangely harsh and unfamiliar ring to most people. There is certainly a case to be made for the old-age pensioners and for single folk living on their own. For these people the little extras which the Ministry of Food handed out at Christmastime made all the difference. In their exuberance and enthusiasm for good housekeeping, the Conservatives may forget that, despite the economists' talk about "too much money chasing too few goods," there are millions in Britain whose living standards leave very little margin for the exercise of "sound finance." Certainly, no single political issue could more vividly illustrate the different approaches of the two major parties to domestic and economic policy. Among the Labourites it has brought out the Charles Dickens' humanitarianism of the movement (which has always been a far greater source of strength to British Socialism than the dialectics of Karl Marx). Among the Conservatives it has emphasized the party's historic insistence that welfare should take second place to prudent national bookkeeping.

In the foreign field, there has been little disposition to quarrel with Eden's admirably lucid exposition of British policy. The Foreign Secretary now enjoys the respect and support of both sides of the House. The only dissenting note has come from the Bevanites, although so far Bevan himself has remained silent.

It would be wrong to overestimate the influence of this group in foreign affairs. The arguments which they are advancing will gain no substantial support in the country so long as Eden and the State Department are prepared to show a sincere readiness to negotiate with the Russians whenever an opportunity presents itself. Only a suspicion that American policy is losing patience, or is not genuinely seeking a settlement, would set a spark to the fuel which the Bevanites are so industriously accumulating. Eden is well aware of the danger, and has not made the mistake of ignoring his opponents. He listens to their arguments patiently and replies with studied care and moderation. It is not over foreign policy but on the industrial front that the Bevanites are likely to increase their support.

In almost every respect Conservative foreign policy is following the same line as that adopted by Labour since 1945. Eden has stated that he is anxious to bring United Europe into a close working relationship with the Atlantic Pact and has argued that the Atlantic Pact in turn should have far more than a purely military and defensive purpose. Ernest Bevin and Herbert Morrison both took the same line. The difference is largely a question of clarity and emphasis. The voice of Britain will be heard more attentively now that Eden is in charge, but the message will be much as before. It is not a particularly inspiring message because it takes into account all those limiting factors with which British policy is at present circumscribed. If any Americans are expecting a really vigorous British lead in the creation of a United Europe or of an Atlantic Union they are likely to be disappointed. No British Government has the power or the inclination at present to achieve these things. Without a much more practical initiative by the United States the national barriers which divide and befuddle the political, economic and military strategy of the Western democracies will remain exactly as they are today.

All this, of course, does not mean that Churchill's well-known desire for high-level talks with Stalin is likely to be set aside. The Prime Minister is believed to be convinced that the country's economic difficulties are virtually insoluble so long as the Cold War exists. He is, therefore, determined to use every opportunity to press for a "live and let live" agreement with the Soviet Union and for this purpose he has the heartfelt backing of the entire country.

These points will certainly be on the agenda when Churchill meets the President in January. In addition, Churchill is bound to appeal for an extension of economic aid because without it the British rearmament effort (now as great as all the rest of Western Europe put together) cannot be sustained. Meanwhile his lieutenants will be busy working out during the Parliamentary vacation a policy for the months ahead. It is fairly safe, therefore, to suppose that British politics will not catch fire again until early spring. By that time the government is likely to be brought face to face with its most formidable task—the handling of the trade unions and the solution of the wages and manpower problems.

The increase in the cost of living over the past 12 months has resulted in a massive backlog of wage claims by nearly all the big unions. The railwaymen and the

BRITISH CHRISTMAS FARE

(per person per week)

Meat	22 cents' worth
Butter	3 ounces
Margarine	4 ounces
Lard	2 ounces
Bacon	4 ounces
Sugar	10 ounces
Cheese	1½ ounces
Tea	2 ounces
Candy	1 pound 10 ounces
Eggs	1 (If available)

Note: Poultry, fish, fruit and vegetables are not rationed but, as a result, are fairly expensive.

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miners have already been allocated substantial pay increases, and since the line of applicants shows no sign of dwindling, the financial experts are talking ominously of "wage inflation." Meanwhile, Britain's manpower resources are stretched to the limit. There is a chronic shortage of labor in the manufacturing towns; industrialists are outbidding each other for the skilled operatives needed to speed the export drive and rearmament.

The trade unions are in a strong position, and they know it. How the Conservatives hope to increase production and avoid inflation and strikes without retaining, and even extending, the very controls which they have so bitterly criticized is far from clear. But the testing time cannot be postponed much longer. The unions have promised to co-operate with their new masters, but the pressure from the left-wing extremists in the rank-and-file is bound to be considerable. It will be much more difficult for the union leaders to hold them in check now that the instinctive loyalty of the working man to a Labour Government no longer applies.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN INDIA

by M. N. Roy

THE COMMUNIST PARTY is the dark horse of the Indian political situation. Since India is the only country in Southeast Asia with a stable political order, the Communists have not been able to attain the position gained where the Japanese invaders left a trail of chaos. Nevertheless, in India the Communist Party is not a negligible force. Barring the Congress Party, it alone has an effective organizational machinery which, according to Lenin's prescription, can combine legal and illegal activities. All other opposition parties, including the Socialists, have still to build up their organizations.

The numerical strength of the Communist Party is anybody's guess. It may be anywhere between 15,000 and 50,000. But it is a cadre party whose strength is not to be measured by the number of its members. The decisive factor is its capacity for mass mobilization, either directly or through auxiliary and peripheral organizations. It is a common leftist opinion that formal political independence has not freed Indian economy from imperialist control. Therefore, clever propaganda can easily convert the traditional anti-imperialist sentiment into sympathy for the Communist Party.

As a matter of fact, political independence has not improved economic conditions. The middle class, with fixed income, has suffered the most. Perhaps not much could be done in such a short time. But nationalist propaganda fostered the faith that, once in power, the followers of a Saint would do miracles. Experience has dispelled the illusion, and discontent has dimmed the fervor of faith. The Communists have been making political capital out of the situation. Other left-wing opposition parties are also doing the same. Their promises are no less lavish than those made by the Communists. But the latter have the advantage of a sanction behind their promises. It is the example of China and the power of Russia.

Besides the trade unions, students' unions and peasants' unions, the Communist Party operates through such peripheral organizations as the Friends of the Soviet Union, the Indo-Chinese Cultural League, the International Peace Committee and the Progressive Writers' Association. At any time it can enlist distinguished university teachers, scientists, doctors, writers, journalists, to join delegations for conducted tours of Russia and China. One, which included quite unexpected persons, has just returned from Russia to testify that it did not find any "iron curtain." Another has left for China. In addition to the avowed and organized fellow-travelers, the Communist Party counts upon the sympathy and support of anonymous high-placed individuals.

While disowning the charges of violence and intimidation, the Communists still maintain several pockets of resistance in different parts of the country. The most notorious is one on the border between the states of Hyderabad and Madras. There armed bands of Communists have been holding two districts (several hundred square miles) for nearly three years. Even the military could not dislodge them. Rich and influential people in the city of Hyderabad are known to be backing the Communists. Dissatisfaction with the Congress regime, often for selfish motives, is sublimated as Communist sympathy of which no secret is made.

Hyderabad is not an exceptional case of Communist infiltration. Calcutta, the cultural metropolis of the country, is the safest harbor of underground Communist leaders. In the state of Bengal, the Communist Party is banned. Yet the 1948 conference, which adopted the Communist policy for Southeast Asia, was held there. It was attended by delegates from all of the countries

M. N. Roy was the first Indian Communist leader. He headed the Eastern section of the Communist International from 1920-29 and as such was sent to China to apply Comintern policy. He broke with Stalin in 1930. Today as head of the Radical Humanist Movement and contributor to leading newspapers, he is famous throughout India as a writer and philosopher.

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concerned and of the Communist International. The former general secretary of the Communist Party, P. C. Joshi, who was sacked in that conference, lived underground in the house of the principal of the biggest government college.

Such being their privileged position in the country, the Communists could be expected to do well in the coming election if they had the fullest freedom of the press, speech and movement. The attitude of the government is equivocal. The Communist Party is banned in a number of states, but the central government maintains that it has not placed any restrictions on the constitutional activities of the party. Nevertheless, it would not abandon the emergency power of detention without trial because, as the home minister informed Parliament recently, the Communist Party is still engaged in conspiratorial activities for the subversion of law and order. The Communists argue that in this ambiguous situation they cannot participate in the election freely. About 1,500 of them are still held in preventive detention. As the government is not likely to take any risk, the Communists may demonstratively boycott the election, although they are sure to lay their eggs in the nest of left-wing electoral blocs formed by their manipulation. The Communist-sponsored Progressive bloc has already achieved spectacular results in local elections in Bengal.

The weakness of the Communist Party is the absence of a settled policy, which results from the fact that the Russians are watching the development of India's foreign policy. Since India championed Red China and several times voted with the Communist bloc in the UN or abstained from voting, Indian Communists were advised to support the Nehru Government. It seemed that for the time being their policy would be similar to that of the Communist parties of France and Italy—to capture key positions by functioning constitutionally. The resolution of the 1948 conference, that the Communist Party of India must take to the Chinese path, organize local armed insurrections and create pockets of resistance with the object of undermining the established order, was repudiated as the adventurism of B. T. Ranadive, who had succeeded P. C. Joshi as the general secretary. He also was sacked. The underground Politburo issued a proclamation eschewing violence and pledging the party to legal mass activity. Eventually, to sound the situation, some of the leaders came out into the open. They talked, with tongue in cheek. The veteran S. A. Dange, who is a member of the Bombay State Legislative Assembly, held a press conference to refute the idea that the Communist Party ever advocated violence for the sake of violence.

With ample reason, the government refused to believe that the leopard had changed its spots; and the Communist Party, on its part, complained that its new line of sweet reasonableness could not be practised because the wicked government did not grant it the freedom. As a matter of fact, the Party spoke with many tongues, revealing a lack of settled policy. For a time the Party was actually without a central leadership. The key post of the general secretary still remains vacant. The all-powerful Politburo was dissolved by the super power of some unseen hand.

All these bits could be pieced together in a picture which conveyed the impression that the Party was veering toward a policy dictated by the Russian and Chinese desire to reassure the Nehru Government that if it followed their foreign policy the Communists would make no trouble. But at the same time, the Indian Government could not but be perturbed by the Communist conquest of Tibet against its remonstrances, the infiltration of Nepal, the alarming news from the Indo-Burmese frontier and the Russian approach toward Kashmir through Sinkiang. Indian foreign policy, which is disapproved by powerful business interests, might alter its course unless a counter-pressure is exerted.

All of a sudden, there has been a remarkable change in the tone of Communist propaganda. The election manifesto of the Party calls for a united front of all the popular forces to overthrow the Nehru Government and to establish a People's Democracy. It is too early to judge if it is the voice of Moscow, seeking to frighten the Nehru Government so as to prevent a possible reorientation of its foreign policy. If so, this effort will defeat its purpose. The election manifesto rules out the possibility of the government removing all restrictions so as to enable the Communist Party to participate freely in the election. And it is too late for yet another turn in the Communist policy before the election.

So it seems that, notwithstanding a good chance of becoming the parliamentary spearhead of the widespread discontent in the country, the Communist Party has chosen to condemn itself to the wilderness. It would be an incredibly stupid policy unless the Indian Communists were ordered to return to the Chinese path; and that would be an indication of over-all Communist strategy in Asia. Magnified reports of popular discontent in India must have misled the Russians. There is plenty of discontent, and, with patience, the Communists could exploit it. But the rashness implied in the new policy might reinforce reaction to threaten the infant democracy before it is supplanted by a People's Democracy. If the Communists cannot have the satisfaction of committing the infanticide, they would provoke others to do so.

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STEEL: A MYTH EXPOSED

by Harry Conn

THE CIO-United Steelworkers are entitled to receive a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase as the result of the critical negotiations now in progress regarding basic steel. The steel industry can absorb such an increase without raising prices, and approval of the increase is fully justifiable within the prevailing anti-inflation policies of the Wage Stabilization Board.

These conclusions were reached after discussions with outstanding economists of varying shades of economic and political opinion, both in and out of government service. This is not a prophecy; it is an estimate of a fair and just settlement—a settlement which would meet the needs of the nation as well as of the contending parties.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of achieving a proper settlement of the steel wage question without an increase in prices. Steel is related, in some way, to almost every physical substance of modern life. A steel price increase would mean that at each stage of production a percentage markup, due to steel, would find its way into the final price of almost all other goods. Unquestionably, the price of steel is fundamentally and rigidly related to the cost of living.

The nation's press and radio, more than passively concerned with the welfare of steel management, have been telling a vastly different story on the wage rights of the Steelworkers and the absorption power of the industry. By strait-jacketing the WSB with the strictest possible interpretation of its policy, they have calculated that the maximum figure which can be approved is in the neighborhood of four to six cents an hour. Agreement above this figure, they say, will "pierce" the Board's established ceiling and inevitably set a new wage and price pattern with catastrophic results to the nation's economy.

If one applies the most generous interpretation to WSB policy, it is possible to arrive at an 18.5-cent-an-hour increase for the union. Such a figure, however, falls as far short of a just settlement on one side as the six-cent proposal does on the other. And a 15-cent increase, contrary to seemingly standard press reports, will not establish a new wage pattern since it is simply an accumulation which the WSB yardstick indicates belongs rightfully to the Steelworkers considered in the light of the critical-defense emergency and the necessity of maintaining production with economic justice to all citizens.

The first step in achieving such a settlement is now being taken as representatives of the industry and the union sit conferring around heavy, polished tables in Pittsburgh, New York, Youngstown and other major steel centers. For the first time in four years the 1,100,000-member Steelworkers Union and the nation's steel corporations are negotiating an entirely new contract rather than just annual re-opening clauses. The new contract must cover everything from wages to industrial health and union security provisions, and many of the points will take a considerable amount of bargaining. The union is applying a different approach this year. It has drawn up 22 separate demands, all of which are couched in general phraseology in the hope that over the conference table management will reply in a like manner. Then, the technical terminology, they believe, can be more easily worked out. The union feels that this is a far more effective approach than the policy of drawing up model contract clauses with the hope that management would sign them. This has inevitably resulted in disputes over minute points which largely obscured the major issues.

One of the 22 union demands calls for "a substantial wage increase." No figure has yet been publicly announced, and speculation on what it will be goes as high as 30 cents an hour. One of the problems, as in former years, is that the steel industry appears determined to make up for any wage increase with a price increase. Top management officials have publicly made this point many times during the past few months.

All that the hard-pressed consumer would ask of the steel industry is that its prices be "generally fair and equitable" and, in recognition of the present emergency, that it not impede production. This principle is set forth in the Defense Production Act and has been translated into a more specific guide for the Price Stabilizer by the Economic Stabilization Administrator. Defense Mobilizer Charles E. Wilson detailed this guide in his "Second Quarterly Report to the President" last July 1 as follows:

> The level of price ceilings for an industry shall normally be considered "generally fair and equitable" under the Defense Production Act if the dollar profits of the industry's amount to 85 percent of the average for the industry's best three years during the period 1946-49 inclusive. The profits should be figured before federal income and excess-profits

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taxes and after normal depreciation only, with adjustments made for any changes in net worth.

With figures supplied by the annual statistical reports of the American Iron and Steel Institute, we followed this guide. Based on reports of 49 major steel companies which produce 85 percent of US finished-steel tonnage, we took 1947-1949 as the best years. The last full year reported is 1950. Conservatively, and considering possible increased costs and contingencies for error, these 49 major steel companies could give their workers a 35-cent hourly increase without being entitled to a price increase under the above guide. Steel earnings for the first three quarters of 1951, as reported by the industry, indicate that the rate of earnings in the second quarter is the highest in recent history and that while profits declined about 15 percent in the third quarter, they still averaged above the 1950 third-quarter report. A 35-cent-plus figure, therefore, is conservatively acceptable based on anticipated 1951 earnings.

There are some who may question these figures because the exact method of computation has not been publicly prescribed by the Office of Economic Stabilization. Utilization of accurate statistics, however, in accordance with the ESA guide—regardless of the particular method of computation—will result in the same general conclusions. The final figure is so large that variations are relatively unimportant.

It has long been recognized that steel, more than any other industry, is the foundation on which our economy rests. It has determined price as well as wage patterns. One government expert who has spent years studying the economics of the steel companies told the *New Republic* that it is the "most confusing and inefficient industry in the country, and the most confusing and inefficient company of them all is the United States Steel Corporation." In the minds of many economists, the determining role of the steel industry is far from healthy since it restricts the living standards of many workers in more efficient industries.

Today, any wage increase negotiated between the union and the steel companies must be approved or disapproved by the Wage Stabilization Board. The Board has received its share of abuse from both labor and management. The unions are unhappy about the backlog of cases and limitations placed on health, pension plans and bonuses. Management, on the other hand, just isn't happy about any kind of controls.

Yet, the fact remains that the Board has now arrived at a carefully formulated procedure and yardstick which even its labor members admit is sufficiently flexible to meet the demands of a defense emergency. And it can meet the current Steelworkers' demand, too. The advice which labor members of the WSB are giving the unions today is to "go out and get the best possible wage settlement," and leave it to the Board finally to decide if the increase has an inflationary impact.

The initial step toward establishing such a yardstick was taken more than 18 months ago when Congress passed the Defense Stabilization Act with the two-fold objective of controlling prices and wages. In October of last year, President Truman appointed nine members to the Wage Stabilization Board, three each representing industry, labor and the public. But other action was needed, as the Council of Economic Advisors report to the President stated last December:

> Relatively too much attention has been diverted to the mechanics of price and wage controls, and not enough to the economics of price and wage policy. Too often has it been forgotten that controls are designed to effectuate a policy, and not to substitute for it. . . . It is not sufficient to say simply that they are to be applied to fight inflation. This does not reveal just what ought to be done, for there are many ways both good and bad of fighting inflation. Nor is the economist completely satisfied with the answer that the "public wants controls." . . . In either administrative approach, both economic considerations and the maintenance of public support require the development of policy to implement a set of objectives. The proper sequence is first to define the objectives, and then to develop the implementing policy along with the machinery and procedures which will best effectuate the policy.

The Council advised very strongly that the stability and growth of the economy were more likely to be promoted by level prices and rising money-income than by level money-income and rising prices. It did feel, however, that a rise in money-income should be consonant with increases in production. Therefore, the Council advocated, as a matter of economic policy, periodic wage increases based on the increase in the productivity of the economy as a whole as well as on increases in the cost of living.

In the year since the WSB first met and since the Council's report was issued, these two principles have been accepted as part of the nation's stabilization policy. Together they offer a wage program well adapted to countering the effects of weakness in price control.

Productivity and cost-of-living factors were first written into a collective-bargaining contract in 1948 by General Motors and the United Automobile Workers-CIO and continued in their 1950 agreement. Cost-of-living or escalator clauses in contracts are now numerous and the improvement factor in production is being more widely accepted by both labor and management.

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The WSB has indicated that it will approve productivity increases of the GM type entered into prior to January 25, 1951, on the condition that the employer signs a warranty to the Board that the increased payment will not be used as a basis for requesting price relief from the Office of Price Stabilization. The accepted rate for improvement in production is 2.5 percent annually, which, if applied in the case of steelworkers, would mean a 4- to 4.5-cent-an-hour increase next year. Further liberalization of the Board policy to recognize agreements signed after the January 25 freeze is anticipated.

The productivity section of the agreement with GM provides that the union will not interfere with technological improvements in the plant, and that an umpire, both selected and paid jointly, will decide any disputes. Only a fraction of one percent of the disputes which have arisen, however, have been referred to an umpire. The real value in this principle lies in agreement that technological improvements will be to the advantage of both the management and the workers and that such increases will not be allowed to become inflationary.

A sizable section of industry, however, has not yet accepted the productivity principle. The US Steel Corporation is one of this group. Benjamin Fairless, president of US Steel, made this clear when he said:

> And now, as I understand it, labor is trying to persuade us that it really should have two pay boosts—one to cover the cost of living and another on top of that to cover increased production. Well, that to me is just plain economic double-talk, because the only practical result, as far as I can see, will be wages pushing prices up and prices pushing wages up until at last we shall have "stabilized" ourselves right into national bankruptcy.

Many observers feel that a peaceful settlement of the steel negotiations hinges on acceptance of the improvement factor in production by the steel companies. At the presently agreed upon rate of a 2.5-percent increase per annum for the economy as a whole, and with the present average hourly pay for steel in the neighborhood of $1.88, this would mean a 4.5-cent-an-hour increase, not an inconsiderable figure in the present discussions.

This is not all. Also within the framework of WSB policy, the Steelworkers could conceivably justify an additional 14 cents an hour in increases based on the 10-percent "catch-up" provision and the cost-of-living formula laid down by the WSB. It is true that under the strictest interpretation of the Board's regulations which the steel industry and the nation's press are espousing jointly, the Steelworkers could obtain only about a five-cent raise. These groups would allow the union nothing on the 10-percent catch-up formula because the workers have received more than that percentage since the base date of January 15, 1950. All that industry spokesmen would allow the union is the five cents due its members under the cost-of-living formula. The Bureau of Labor Statistics Index has risen 12.8 percent since January 25, 1950, meaning that the union workers, at an average hourly pay of $1.88, would be entitled to about 21 cents more. They received 16 cents last December, leaving only a five-cent gap.

Another section of this same regulation, however, carries a provision which permits a readjustment of the base date where there is plainly an "abnormal pay level." Since the base date is January and the union contract was not signed until the following December, and looking at the entire picture, the union has a case. It is aided by the fact that the 1949 contract contained no actual wage increase and that improvement was largely in the form of pensions, welfare and insurance benefits. In two specific instances involving shipbuilding and Northern textile workers, the WSB has revised the base date to the time of the last contract. In steel, such a readjustment is fully merited. This could mean nine cents an hour to the workers by reverting back to the previous BLS Cost-Price Index or a total increase of 14 cents to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

So, under a policy designed to facilitate the stability and growth of the economy, it is possible for the Steelworkers to obtain an increase of 18.5 cents in their hourly wage rate next year. There are other fringe questions which could be brought up now. The Steelworkers have no paid holidays, for example. Some believe that Philip Murray, president of the union, might withhold this issue until the next contract and concentrate on obtaining productivity and cost-of-living increases now.

The final figure which many economists have in mind as a basis for a fair settlement in steel is a 15-cent increase. A higher figure, while not establishing a pattern, could have an inflationary impact on the income side. The 15-cent raise would be a compromise answer during an emergency in a give-and-take economy with full recognition of the principle of "equality of sacrifice" and the urgent need of expanding and maintaining defense production.

The case for the Steelworkers is mathematically demonstrable. If despite these facts the Steelworkers are denied their "substantial wage increase," or if the steel industry should refuse to absorb the increased cost and be permitted to secure a price increase, the American people and their living standards would be brutally sacrificed to the enrichment of the steel industry and, particularly, of the US Steel Corporation.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *A Break for the Taxpayer*

MANY NEWSPAPERS carried a story dated December 2 to the effect that, "The Navy has begun to rate its officers on 'cost consciousness' as well as other qualities of leadership." Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson of Texas, chairman of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, welcomed the suggestion, according to the New York *Times*, as "a new era in military operations." On second thought, however, he seemed to be less sure of any real amelioration of the plight of the taxpayer who is being held firmly, by both arms and both legs, in a vise-like grip made up of ever-mounting income taxes and constantly soaring prices. Senator Johnson added, "At least, the long-suffering taxpayer may get some of the breaks to which he is entitled." Perhaps he will, but I doubt it.

My feeling is that the taxpayer won't get any of "the breaks to which he is entitled" until an entirely new concept of the relationship between members of the armed forces, not limited to Navy personnel, has become a conviction. My belief is that, while a citizen has a patriotic duty to serve his country in time of war, to the best of his physical ability and to the extent of his endurance, he has an equal duty to limit the money cost of war to the lowest possible figure consistent with the maintenance of our ability to fight. This, of course, means adequate living costs for himself and his family, the best possible in the way of housing, equipment and food, outstanding medical and hospital care and the assurance that, if he goes into battle and does not return, his family will be regarded as an honorable obligation of the state and will not become a charge upon relatives or a callous general charity.

This concept, while it may be accepted as an abstract principle, will not become a conviction to the military mind, any more than it will attain a healthy growth, without careful cultivation. So far as our service academies are concerned—West Point, Annapolis, New London and Quantico—from the time that an American youth enters one of them for training for the Army, Navy, Coast Guard or Marine Corps, to say nothing of the various and rapidly expanding training centers for the Air Force, he is indoctrinated with the idea that unless he wants to change his career his country owes him a living. It owes this up to the time of his retirement and, after that, a further duty to see to it that dependents are taken care of under American standards, which are the highest in the world.

If, from this time on, young Americans who have their eyes on commissions and promotions in any of the armed services are expected at the same time to acquire a "cost consciousness," it would be unrealistic, as well as unfair, to expect the burgeoning of such a mental quality until after years of education. A proper education should lead to the reasoned conviction that the procurement and other officers, on land and sea, owe it to their country, not only to win victories at the least possible cost in casualties, but at a rigidly curtailed operational cost that would represent a striking financial saving, in money appropriations, over anything within the expectation, or even the conception, of the present generation. After all, we are more likely to berate a member of Congress or an executive official for demanding economies than to support him in his effort to maintain some reasonable ratio between what we can afford to expend on our armed forces and what we actually spend.

For this state of public opinion, it would not be fair to blame the soldier or the sailor. After all, we have brought him up with the very proper idea that his is the greatest sacrifice. Our national objective is to cling to the liberties that have been ours since the Constitutional Convention met in Philadelphia. To do this means both men and money. We cannot hope forever to maintain our military strength at the maximum and, at the same time, respond with ever-increasing millions to the outrageous demands of Senator McCarran of Nevada. In order to spend money, we must have it to spend, and in order to have enough money to spend, we must not only produce up to our capacity, we must save.

A tax dollar once squandered or stolen can never be recovered. In order to have all that we need, all of us must save all that we can. There must be less joyriding at heavy cost to the country, both on the surface of the earth and in the air. So careless have we been that the taxpayer cannot go to any books anywhere to discover how much money, and for what purposes, has been spent during the mad driving back and forth this summer by military officials, highly placed civilians and even by our commissioned officers themselves. This is a job that Congress should do but which it has shirked for reasons that are apparent even to the dullest wit. This long-overdue assignment should be undertaken at once by a Congress which surely has concern for the country's economic health.

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

NOTABLE BOOKS OF 1951: A READER'S LIST

Belles Lettres, Criticism and Poetry

After the Lost Generation, by John W. Aldridge. McGraw-Hill. $3.75.

Nones, by W. H. Auden. Random. $2.50.

A Treasury of French Poetry. Translated by Alan Conder. Harper. $3.

Winged Chariot and Other New Poems, by Walter de la Mare. Viking. $3.50.

Selected Poems, by Richard Eberhart. Oxford. $2.50.

Poetry and Drama, by T. S. Eliot. Harvard. $1.50.

The Structure of Complex Words, by William Empson. New Directions. $5.

Two Cheers for Democracy, by E. M. Forster. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

Selected Poems, by Horace Gregory. Viking. $3.

The Seven-League Crutches, by Randall Jarrell. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.

The Selected Letters of John Keats. Edited by Lionel Trilling. Farrar, Straus & Young. $3.50.

The Poetry of Ezra Pound, by Hugh Kenner. New Directions. $4.

The Mills of the Kavanaughs, by Robert Lowell. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

The Twilight of the Absolute (The Psychology of Art, Vol. III), by André Malraux. Pantheon. $12.50.

Selected Writings of Henri Michaux. Translated by Richard Ellmann. New Directions. $3.50.

Katherine Mansfield's Letters to John Middleton Murry. Edited by John Middleton Murry. Knopf. $6.50.

The Royal Play of Macbeth, by Henry N. Paul. Macmillan. $6.

A Change of World, by Adrienne Cecile Rich. Yale. $2.50.

Praise to the End!, by Theodore Roethke. Doubleday. $3.

Unpopular Essays, by Bertrand Russell. Simon & Schuster. $2.50.

The Necessary Angel, by Wallace Stevens. Knopf. $3.

The Novel in France, by Martin Turnell. New Directions. $4.25.

Ceremony and Other Poems, by Richard Wilbur. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.

Paterson: Book IV, by William Carlos Williams. New Directions. $3.

The Collected Poems of William Butler Yeats. Macmillan. $5.

Biography and Memoirs

A Soldier's Story, by Omar N. Bradley. Holt. $5.

Closing the Ring, by Winston S. Churchill. Houghton Mifflin. $6.

Exile's Return, by Malcolm Cowley. Viking. $3.50.

Robert Burns, by David Daiches. Rinehart. $3.50.

Strange Lands and Friendly People, by William O. Douglas. Harper. $4.

Henry James, by F. W. Dupee. Sloane. $4.

Beckoning Frontiers, by Marriner S. Eccles. Knopf. $5.

Birth of a World: Bolivar in Terms of His People, by Waldo Frank. Houghton Mifflin. $5.

George Washington, by Douglas Southall Freeman. Scribner's. Vols. III and IV; $15.

Voyage to Windward: The Life of Robert Louis Stevenson, by J. C. Furnas. Sloane. $5.

The Journals of André Gide: Vol. IV. Knopf. $6.

André Gide, by Albert J. Guerard. Harvard. $4.

The Riddle of MacArthur, by John Gunther. Harper. $2.75.

The Life of John Maynard Keynes, by R. F. Harrod. Harcourt, Brace. $7.50.

Years of Adventure, by Herbert Hoover. Macmillan. $4.

Herman Melville, by Don Howard. California. $5.

A Walker in the City, by Alfred Kazin. Harcourt, Brace. $2.75.

The Melville Log: A Documentary History of Herman Melville, 1819-1891, by Jay Leyda. Harcourt, Brace. $12.50.

Jefferson and the Rights of Man, by Dumas Malone. Little, Brown. $6.

Theodore Dreiser, by F. O. Matthiessen. Sloane. $3.50.

The Far Side of Paradise, by Arthur Mizener. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt. Edited by Elting E. Morison. Harvard. Vols. I-IV; $40.

World Within World, by Stephen Spender. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.

A Socialist's Faith, by Norman Thomas. Norton. $4.

The Journal of Henry David Thoreau. Edited by Bradford Torrey. Houghton Mifflin. 14 vols.; $35.

Venture to the Interior, by Laurens van der Post. Morrow. $3.

The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams. Random. $3.75.

A King's Story: The Memoirs of the Duke of Windsor. Putnam. $4.50.

John C. Calhoun: Sectionalist, 1840-1850, by Charles M. Wiltse. Bobbs-Merrill. $6.

Florence Nightingale, by Cecil Woodham-Smith. McGraw-Hill. $4.50.

Miracle at Kitty Hawk: The Letters of Wilbur and Orville Wright. Edited by Fred C. Kelly. Farrar, Straus & Young. $6.

The Pavilion, by Stark Young. Scribner's. $2.50.

Fiction

The Morning Watch, by James Agee. Houghton Mifflin. $2.25.

The Miraculous Barber, by Marcel Aymé. Harper. $3.

The Season of the Stranger, by Stephen Becker. Harper. $3.

Mister Johnson, by Joyce Cary. Harper. $3.

Darkness and Day, by I. Compton-Burnett. Knopf. $3.50.

The Forests of the Night, by Jean-Louis Curtis. Putnam. $3.50.

Boy with a Trumpet, by Rhys Davies. Doubleday. $3.

Chosen Country, by John Dos Passos. Houghton Mifflin. $4.

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Requiem for a Nun, by William Faulkner. Random. $3.
The Strange Children, by Caroline Gordon. Scribner's. $3.50.
The End of the Affair, by Graham Greene. Viking. $3.
From Here to Eternity, by James Jones. Scribner's. $4.50.
The Watch, by Carlo Levi. Farrar, Straus & Young. $3.75.
The Holy Sinner, by Thomas Mann. Knopf. $3.50.
The Pencil of God, by Pierre Marcelin and Philippe Thoby-Marcelin. Houghton Mifflin. $2.50.
The Conformist, by Alberto Moravia. Farrar, Straus & Young. $3.50.
Man and Boy, by Wright Morris. Knopf. $3.
Mr. Beluncle, by V. S. Pritchett. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50.
The Catcher in the Rye, by J. D Salinger. Little, Brown. $3.
The Yellow Storm, by Lau Shaw. Harcourt, Brace. $4.
The Masters, by C. P. Snow. Macmillan. $3.50.
The Burned Bramble, by Manes Sperber. Doubleday. $3.95.
The Man Who Was Loved, by James Stern. Harcourt, Brace. $3.
Lie Down in Darkness, by William Styron. Bobbs-Merrill. $3.50.
The Caine Mutiny, by Herman Wouk. Doubleday. $3.95.

History

The Bolshevik Revolution, 1917-1923; Volume I of A History of Soviet Russia, by Edward Hallett Carr. Macmillan. $5.
Life in America, by Marshall B. Davidson. Houghton Mifflin. $20.
The Forrestal Diaries. Edited by Walter Millis. Viking. $5.
The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by Julian P. Boyd. Princeton. Vols. I-IV; $40.
A History of the Crusades, Volume I, by Stephen Runciman. Cambridge. $5.
Chinese Communism and the Rise of Mao, by Benjamin Schwartz. Harvard. $3.50.
The Jews in the Soviet Union, by Solomon M. Schwarz. Syracuse. $5.
Reunion and Reaction, by C. Vann Woodward. Little, Brown. $4.

Public Affairs

Men of Good Hope, by Daniel Aaron. Oxford. $4.
The Perón Era, by Robert Alexander. Columbia. $3.50.
The Loyalty of Free Men, by Alan Barth. Viking. $3.
Russian Purge and the Extraction of Confession, by F. Beck and W. Godin. Viking. $3.50.
Cracks in the Kremlin Wall, by Edward Crankshaw. Viking. $3.50.
Peace Can Be Won, by Paul G. Hoffman. Doubleday. $2.50
American Diplomacy: 1900-1950, by George F. Kennan. Chicago. $2.75.
My Mission to Israel, by James G. McDonald. Simon & Schuster. $3.50.
In Defense of the National Interest, by Hans Morgenthau. Knopf. $3.50.
The East European Revolution, by Hugh Seton-Watson. Praeger. $5.50.
Invitation to Moscow, by Z. Stypulkowski. Thames & Hudson. $3.50.
Policy for the West, by Barbara Ward. Norton. $3.75.

Science and Philosophy

The Sea Around Us, by Rachel L. Carson. Oxford. $3.50.
Science and Common Sense, by James B. Conant. Yale. $4.
The Nature of the Universe, by Fred Hoyle. Harper. $2.50.
Cosmic Rays, by Louis Leprince-Ringuet. Prentice-Hall. $6.65.
The Conduct of Life, by Lewis Mumford. Harcourt, Brace. $5.
The Atom at Work, by Jacob Sacks. Ronald. $4.
Dominations and Powers, by George Santayana. Scribner's. $4.50.
Geography of the USSR, by Theodore Shabad. Columbia. $8.50.
A History of Medicine, Vol. I, by Henry E. Sigerist. Oxford. $7.50.
Philosophies of India, by Heinrich Zimmer. Edited by Joseph Campbell. Pantheon. $6.

Social Studies

Origins of Totalitarianism, by Hannah Arendt. Harcourt, Brace. $6.75.
Communism, Democracy and Catholic Power, by Paul Blanshard. Beacon. $3.50.
Gods, Graves and Scholars, by C. W. Ceram. Knopf. $5.75.
Personality and Psychotherapy, by John Dollard and Neal E. Miller. McGraw-Hill. $6.50.
Business Cycles and National Income, by Alvin H. Hansen. Norton. $6.75.
The True Believer, by Eric Hoffer. Harper. $2.50.
This Happened in Pasadena, by David Hulburd. Macmillan. $2.50.
White Collar: The American Middle Classes, by C. Wright Mills. Oxford. $5.
Russia's Soviet Economy, by Harry Schwarz. Prentice-Hall. $6.65.
Civil Liberties Under Attack. Edited by Clair Wilcox. Pennsylvania. $3.50.

Miscellaneous

The American Oxford Atlas. $10.
Mr. Lincoln's Contemporaries: An Album of Portraits by Mathew B. Brady. Edited by Roy Meredith. Scribner's. $6.
The Columbia Encyclopedia. $28.50.
This Is War, by David Douglas Duncan. Harper. $4.95.
Everyman's Encyclopedia. Macmillan. $27.50.
The Presidency, by Stefan Lorant. Macmillan. $15.
Lifemanship, by Stephen Potter. Holt. $2.50.
Thorndyke-Barnhart Comprehensive Dictionary. Doubleday. $2.75.

Crime and Punishment

Beware the Pale Horse, by Ben Benson. Mill-Morrow. $2.50.
Strange Welcome, by F. A. Chittenden. Coward-McCann. $2.50.
Now or Never, by Manning Coles. Crime Club. $2.50.
A Gentle Murderer, by Dorothy Salisbury Davis. Scribner's. $2.50.
No Tears for Hilda, by Andrew Garve. Harper. $2.50.
Murder Comes Home, by Anthony Gilbert. Random. $2.50.
Six Criminal Women, by Elizabeth Jenkins. Duell, Sloan and Pearce. $2.50.
Mr. Byculla, by Eric Linklater. Harcourt, Brace. $2.50.
Defender's Triumph, by Edgar Lustgarten. Scribner's. $3.

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Mr. Blessington's Imperial Plot, by John Sherwood. Crime Club. $2.50.

The Eleventh Hour, by Robert B. Sinclair. Mill-Morrow. $2.50.

The Thirty-first of February, by Julian Symons. Harper. $2.50.

Big Shot, by Lawrence Treat. Harper. $2.50.

MACARTHUR TO SIZE

THE GENERAL AND THE PRESIDENT—and the Future of American Foreign Policy, by Richard H. Rovere and Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. (Farrar, Straus & Young; $3.75).

SOMEWHAT TO my surprise, it is fun to read this book. The MacArthur affair was a massive and complex event (or series of events) and it provoked such a cosmic emotional upheaval that returning to it is like going back to a bitterly fought-over battlefield. The visit may be interesting but it is not expected to be amusing. (My weariness is undoubtedly due to the fact that I was one of that lost battalion of Washington correspondents who spent the spring of 1951 in the windowless press room of the Senate Office Building reading thousands of pages of smudgy blue transcript during the MacArthur hearings. They were not the happiest days of our lives.) Rovere and Schlesinger, however, are afflicted with no weariness. Few works on so serious a subject can have been written with more gayety and verve. The result is a shrewd, concise, witty book.

The first of the four chapters is an entertaining survey of the public reaction in the days following MacArthur's return to the US. This section, entitled "The Second Coming of Douglas MacArthur," is done in the best *New Yorker* manner. (Rovere is a *New Yorker* staffer.) My favorite anecdote concerns the MacArthur critic in Seattle who "had his head shoved into a bucket of beer, and held there."

The second chapter is a lengthy profile of MacArthur in which some of the wind is gently let out without deflating the core of substantial achievement. There follows a summary of the military campaigns in Korea with emphasis on the political repercussions which eventually led to the General's downfall. The concluding chapter is a cogent analysis of the central issues of American foreign policy in the light of the MacArthur hearings. It is as able a statement of Truman-Acheson foreign policy as that policy is likely to receive.

The authors make no categorical judgments and their handling of MacArthur is always urbane and tolerant. Yet they note, almost casually, a series of his half-truths, distortions and self-contradictions that accumulate into a devastating final impression.

For example, on November 24, 1950, the Joints Chiefs ordered MacArthur to stop short of the Yalu. Five days later, in a telegram to Arthur Krock, he said he had received no such orders. MacArthur told the Russell Committee that the Joint Chiefs had not been sure we could stick in Korea, but he had been. Official cables showed the positions were precisely the reverse. Official documents also flatly contradicted his statement to Congress that he had the backing of the Joint Chiefs in his plan to extend the war.

On January 4, the Joint Chiefs told MacArthur they were planning to arm the South Koreans.

MacArthur replied that he felt it would be better to save the arms for the defense of Japan. The plan was dropped. Yet later he cabled a magazine that the ROKs were not armed because that involved "basic decisions beyond my authority."

MacArthur is undoubtedly, as his admirers insist, a brave soldier and an inspiring leader of men, but it is his views on public policy and his questionable habits in public controversy that are relevant here. And in these areas MacArthur is not only a failure but—what is worse—a dangerous and deluded man.

It should be added that the book also contains in an appendix a most useful compilation of documents on foreign policy which ought to be an indispensable reference work for any liberal the next time he gets into an argument over China or who gave what at Yalta and why.

WILLIAM V. SHANNON

MOVIES

Christmas Is Coming

THE NEW British production of Dickens' *A Christmas Carol* has opened for the holidays and soon parties of schoolchildren will be marching in to see Scrooge and Bob Cratchit, the ghost of Marley and Tiny Tim. How many of them will thereafter be put to bed with a glass of warm milk and half an aspirin remains to be seen—there is a lot of green holly and "God Rest Ye Merry" in this *Christmas Carol*; there are also a lot of gibbering ghosts and the midnight terrors of a soul in perdition. It will take a sturdy modern tot to withstand the full blast of this Victorian morality and dear, good Uncle Alastair Sim may be thought to have rather outdone himself in his eagerness to entertain the little ones.

The story still seems to me to suffer from the fact that Scrooge unrepentant is a much more interesting character than Scrooge the friend of man. But that is no fault of the present company (including, besides Sim, Jack Warner, Michael Hordern, Mervyn Johns, Kathleen Harrison and Hermione Baddeley), which has been admirably directed by Brian Desmond Hurst through Dickens' grim journey from Hell to Christmas morning.

Claude Autant-Lara has performed a service for students of the theatre by reviving Georges Feydeau's *Oh, Amelia* (*Occupe-toi d'Amélie*), an authentic French bedroom farce of 50 years ago. The American censors, realizing that the film's insouciant attitude toward sex would have no general appeal, have been admirably broadminded in the interest of historical accuracy. The devices by which M. Feydeau got his heroine (in the present production, Danielle Darrieux) from one bed to another, the ingenuity with which he repeatedly compromised her without actually debauching her will be a revelation to the dramatic classes who attend showings of this film. It is a matter of split-second timing and an attitude of aloof amuse-

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ment. Maintaining this attitude in the presence of Mlle. Darrieux will in itself be an instructive exercise for the classes.

Briefly, the comedy concerns a bogus marriage contracted to satisfy the terms of a will and arranged through the various interests of an expensive cocotte, her complaisant father, a pure lover, an impure lover, a provincial uncle and an incognito personage suffering from royal goatishness. The story advances by a series of full canters, each of which ends in a bedroom; it is ridiculous, it is extremely gay and, taken in the proper historical spirit, it has an invulnerable innocence. Autant-Lara has used the play-within-a-play device to maintain the gaslit atmosphere; it was a mistake, for he seems thus to be kidding what should be played straight. But that is his only mistake in the direction of this boudoir punch and judy.

Except for drunks and newspapermen, the public at large may accept *Come Fill the Cup* as a realistic entertainment and an edifying tract. It displays James Cagney, bouncy as ever and competently abetted by James Gleason, Gig Young and Phyllis Thaxter (he is helped not at all by Raymond Massey's wooden performance), in a tough yarn about alcoholic rehabilitation in the city room. There is a gangster subplot and there are hearts-and-flowers overtones. Cagney can look as drunk as anyone you ever saw and he can look so sober your throat aches, but the methods by which he gets from one state to the other are not entirely convincing. The way in which the newspaper of which he is city editor is run is not convincing at all.

Different things puzzle different people, but it is unlikely that many will be long in the dark as to the identity of the nineteenth-century American poet portrayed by Joseph Cotten in *The Man with a Cloak*. This romantic figure drinks more than he should, is given to quoting François Villon on the impermanence of snow and is almost excessively gallant toward maidens. If those clues prove insufficient, a large black bird of the crow family is prominently featured as a further hint.

The picture is based on one of the slight costume-coincidence yarns that John Dickson Carr writes for the mystery magazines: it concerns a wealthy old wreck from Napoleon's general staff living in New York exile (Louis Calhern), his three predatory domestic jailors (Barbara Stanwyck, Margaret Wycherly and Joe de Santis), a resolute damsel of la République (Leslie Caron, recently seen here dancing with Gene Kelly in *An American in Paris*) and the aforementioned Cotten. The talent is expensive and the movie steams with hansom-cab atmosphere, but it is a B picture from the opening sounds of midnight revelry to the final shot of that famous signature scribbled on the back of a scrap of verse. ROBERT HATCH

ON THE AIR

TV without Wrestlers

IN RADIO'S crystal-set days, one got a thrill out of picking up distant stations. A radio bug in Philadelphia was a hero to his friends because he had been able to tune in Cincinnati or Nashville. For a few years after the use of land lines between cities became common to network radio, producers still clung to the gimmick of coaxing a distant station to "Come in, please; come in St. Louis; we're ready for you, St. Louis." Of course, St. Louis was "in" all the time, but the customers were impressed. When listeners ceased to marvel, the device was dropped. Now it has been taken up again by television. And of all places, it has reappeared on one program that does not need the Buck Rogers note. The program—by far the best TV news roundup to date—is *See It Now*, Sundays at 3:30 (CBS-TV).

The easiest way to recommend the program is to say that Edward R. Murrow and Fred W. Friendly are the men running it. Murrow is the most trustworthy reporter we have on the air today, the most responsible and best able to project that responsibility. Friendly collaborated with him on the record albums issued under the title *I Can Hear It Now*, worked with him last season on CBS's full hour of weekly radio reporting called *Hear It Now*. They're still a great team. Friendly makes sure

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that the techniques are smooth; Murrow watches content and contributes his own personality as the narrator who holds the pieces together.

It's not the agile jumping from city to city that impresses a *See It Now* audience, but the skillful editing and cutting of film, a good deal of it specially taken for the program, which Friendly arranges and Murrow ties together. As an example, you see Truman, MacArthur and Taft campaigning as if all three were appearing in person before you, while Eisenhower is brought in through a film shot at Bremerhaven.

The program is not a random newsreel; it is a documentary recording, through film and some live shots, of the week's most important news events placed in perspective and given depth and point by Murrow's commentary. Some of the "features" can be improved. The opening had an excellent reel, made for the program, looking into the daily life of infantrymen in Korea. The second week, we saw a bunch of bored 10 and 12-year-olds visiting *Old Ironsides* in Charleston Navy Yard while an old mariner recited Holmes's verses. It was corn, but perhaps a more important story fell through at the last moment. Besides, the first two shows were not sponsored; they were previews of what the Aluminum Company of America will be paying for by the time you read these lines.

For the past several weeks, WNBT, which is New York headquarters for the NBC television network, has had on the air, Monday through Friday at 10:30 a.m., a program called *It's a Problem.* Helen Parkhurst and Fannie Hurst are the regular members of a panel of educators, psychiatrists, social workers and other experts on marriage, the home, children, family life and social adjustment, subjects that are discussed under the guidance of Ben Grauer. I have looked in on this program a number of times and have found it mature, down-to-earth and "progressive" in the best sense of that adjective as applied to education. It's a relief to see television operating on the assumption that women at home, who constitute almost the entire morning audience, are sufficiently intelligent to welcome an adult discussion of the child's exposure to racial intolerance, the problems facing an adolescent girl, the mother-in-law as a human being and not a gag, or "How Prepared Are Teachers to Teach?"

Grauer's handling of the show is always sure, tolerant of disagreement among the experts, but firm in joining issues. Miss Parkhurst and Miss Hurst appear on the panel on alternate days. Miss Parkhurst is a professional, having gone through the mill in both radio and television with *Child's World*, a program now unhappily missing from the air. Miss Hurst also feels thoroughly at home in front of the camera. Both ladies are needed to help Grauer keep the amateur guests from going off into fruitless expositions of their own specialties. Not all questions are settled, but the airing given the subject matter is always fresh and authoritative. It's too bad this show can't be moved to 10:30 at night. Can you imagine ditching *Boston Blackie* for a discussion of "The Child in the Broken Home" by Miss Parkhurst, Dr. Louis Sobel, executive director of the Jewish Child Care Association, and a psychologist or two?

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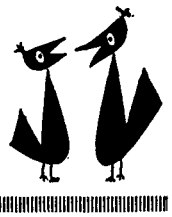

MUSIC

Instrumental Records

NEARLY ALL the standard works of the instrumental repertoty are by now available on long-playing records. But improved engineering and the rise of new artists warrant the reissuing of pieces that have already been recorded, with the result that the current catalogues are by no means filled exclusively with esoterica rescued from library shelves. I have tried to balance this Christmas checklist between unfamiliar works and new versions of familiar ones; at the same time, I have restricted it to performances that seem to me both musically distinguished and mechanically expert. With the exception of the two Bruckner symhonies and the collection of Handel concerti grossi, which require two 12-inch records each, the items listed are contained on one LP disc (12-inch except where noted).

Chamber Music

BACH: *Suites No. 2, D minor,* and *No. 6, D major,* for viola alone. Lillian Fuchs plays warmly and immaculately two of the suites Bach wrote for the obsolete *viola pomposa,* which are usually performed on the cello (Decca).

BEETHOVEN: *Grosse Fuge, Op. 133.* Intended as the finale of the *String Quartet, Op. 130,* but the dramatic counterpoint so overstrained the powers of the solo string players of Beethoven's day that the composer replaced it with another movement. Played here by a string orchestra (Vienna Chamber Orchestra, Franz Litschauer, conductor), the music makes its forceful point. It is coupled with four beautiful short works for strings by Henry Purcell (Vanguard).

BRAHMS: *Violin Sonata, D minor.* Lyric intensity and impeccable technique mark the playing of Isaac Stern and his pianist, Alexander Zakin (Columbia, 10-inch).

FAURE: *Trio, D minor;* RAVEL: *Trio, A minor.* The Albeneri Trio in performances of tastefully controlled eloquence (Mercury).

HINDEMITH: *Quartet No. 3;* PROKOFIEV: *Quartet No. 2.* Two of the most durable contemporary quartets, deftly and sympathetically presented by the Hollywood String Quartet. The Hindemith work, written in 1922, reflects the

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post-World War I German revolt against romantic excesses; the Prokofiev quartet, nearly 20 years more recent, is gently neo-classical and even neo-romantic (Capitol).

MOZART: *Quartets, A major, Köchel No. 464,* and *F major, Köchel No. 590.* Two of the ten famous quartets Mozart dedicated to Haydn. The Amadeus String Quartet, an English ensemble of four years' standing, approaches the music with beautiful absorption in all its real values without trying to make an impression through empty virtuosity (Westminster).

MOZART: *Serenades, E flat major, Köchel No. 375,* and *C minor, Köchel No. 388,* for two horns, two oboes, two clarinets, and two bassoons. Wonderful woodwind pieces of quasi-symphonic scope, perfectly performed by instrumentalists directed by the celebrated clarinetist Reginald Kell, who conducts but does not play (Decca).

SCHOENBERG: *Wind Quartet, Op. 26.* Aficionados of the problematic 12-tone music of Schoenberg will welcome this recording, capably set forth by five New York players, of one of the first works (1924) in which the composer made consistent use of his revolutionary system (Dial).

SCHUBERT: *Octet, Op. 166.* One of the most beautiful works in the world, in the most beautiful performance I have ever heard of it—by the Vienna Konzerthaus Quartet and four other Viennese players (Westminster).

SCHUMANN: *Piano Quintet, E flat major.* A high-powered but always musical performance by the Budapest String Quartet and Clifford Curzon (Columbia).

Orchestral Music

BARTOK: *Music for Stringed Instruments, Percussion and Celesta*; BLOCH: *Concerto Grosso for String Orchestra with Piano Obbligato.* The phenomenal feature of this recording of one great modern work (the Bartók) and one mildly interesting one (the Bloch) is the realism of sound achieved in Mercury's new "Olympian" series, in which artificially induced high frequencies are supplanted by tone and texture so true and honest that I can recognize specifically (having grown up hearing it) the sound of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. Rafael Kubelik conducts this music more persuasively than he does the Moussorgsky-Ravel *Pictures at an Exhibition,* available on another "Olympian" disc (Mercury).

BEETHOVEN: *Symphony No. 3, E flat major (Eroica).* One of the last, and finest, recordings made by Serge Koussevitzky with the Boston Symphony. Mozart's *Linz Symphony,* musically less satisfying, is available on another Koussevitzky memorial release (RCA Victor).

BRUCKNER: *Symphonies Nos. 2 and 4.* Idiomatic, well-recorded performances conducted by Central European experts (Ludwig George Jochum for No. 2, Hermann Abendroth for No. 4). For Bruckner neophytes, the *Fourth* is likely to prove the more absorbing of the two, for it is a piece of wide scope and noble utterance (Urania, two records each).

HANDEL: *Six Concerti for Orchestra, Op. 3,* and *Alexanderfest Concerto.* Felix Prohaska conducts the Vienna State Opera Orchestra in the orchestral concertos of Handel not previously recorded (Vanguard, two records).

HAYDN: *Symphony No. 45, F sharp minor (Farewell).* The middle-period symphony with the finale in which the players leave one by one. Neatly done by Alois Melichar, and the Munich Philharmonic (Mercury, 10-inch).

SCHUBERT: *Gastein Symphony.* Nobody knows what the lost *Gastein Symphony* really was, but Felix Prohaska, here conducting the Vienna State Opera Orchestra, agrees with some scholars that it may have been an orchestration of the Grand Duo for piano four-hands. The music is good-grade Schubert, but the instrumentation by Joachim is on the dull side (Vanguard).

SCHUMAN: *Third Symphony.* This composition remains, after ten years, one of the strongest American orchestral works; Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra play it superbly (Columbia).

SULLIVAN: *Pineapple Poll.* The moment Sir Arthur Sullivan's music went into public domain early this year, the Sadler's Wells Theatre Ballet put together a merry ballet on a variety of the tunes. Charles Mackerras conducts the Sadler's Wells Orchestra in a performance that gives the music a zest rivaling Offenbach's *Gaîté Parisienne* (Columbia).

Concertos

BARTOK: *Violin Concerto* (1938). An eloquent and approachable modern masterpiece, admirably presented by Tibor Varga and the Berlin Philharmonic under its present conductor, Ferenc Fricsay (Decca).

CHOPIN: *Piano Concerto No. 1, E minor.* A fine, sensitive performance, well recorded at a bargain price by Edward Kilenyi and the Austrian Symphony under Franz Prohaska (Remington).

TWO CLARINET CONCERTOS. Aaron Copland's recent, jazzy *Clarinet Concerto,* with Benny Goodman as soloist, is issued in a coupling with Copland's impressively serious new *Piano Quartet* (Columbia). The forgotten but beautiful *Clarinet Concerto* by Ludwig Spohr (1784-1859), played by Franz Hammerla and the Linz Bruckner Symphony Orchestra under L. J. Jochum, is coupled with Spohr's equally winning *Quartet Concerto,* and both are handsomely played and recorded (Urania). CECIL SMITH

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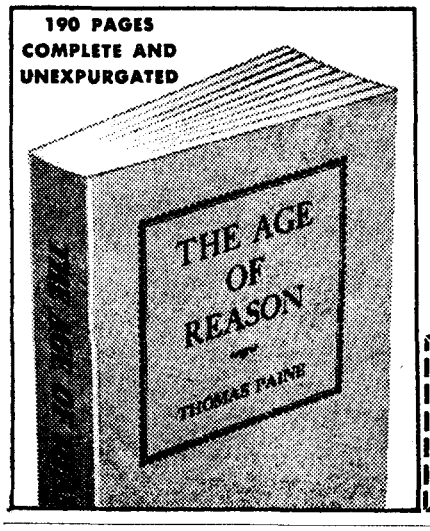

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